

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BELGRADE 4445

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PFOR, YO, CY, XF, UR, IT

SUBJ: DOLANC DELIVERS MAJOR POLICY STATEMENT AT VIS
CELEBRATION

1. SUMMARY: STANE DOLANC, AT TITO'S PERSONAL
EMMISSARY TO ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATIONS OF WAR-TIME PARTISAN
ACTIVITIES ON ISLAND OF VIS, SEPT 8 DELIVERED MAJOR POLITICAL TOUR
D'HORIZON ON INTERNAL POLITICAL FRACTIONS
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AND YUGOSLAV POSITIONS ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL

ISSUES. HIS REFERENCE TO FRACTIONS MAY RELATED IN PART AT LEAST TO RECENT RUMORS OF ARRESTS OF A PRO-SOVIET GROUP. ON INTERNATIONAL SCENE, DOLANC DELIVERED POLICY STATEMENT ON CYPRUS, PALESTINE QUESTION WHICH WILL BE RAISED IN UNGA, MIDDLE EAST, PORTUGUESE COLONIES AND ECONOMIC DISPARITIES BETWEEN DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING NATIONS. HIS REMARKS INDICATE THAT DISPUTE WITH ITALY OVER ZONE B IS STILL VER LIVE ISSUE.

2. LCY EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE SECRETARY STANE DOLANC USED OCCASION OF 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF TITO'S WARTIME EXPLOITS ON ISLAND OF VIS TO DELIVER HARD-HITTING TOUR D'HORIZON COVERING BOTH INTERNAL AND INTERNATIONAL SUBJECTS. ADVANCE PUBLICITY ON DOLANC SPEECH IMPLIED THAT IT WOULD BE IMPORTANT POLICY STATEMENT. WE ASSUME FULL TEXT OF SPEECH AVAILABLE TO DEPT FROM FBIS.

3. ALTHOUGH VIS CELEBRATION WAS UNDER TITO'S PATRONAGE, HE DID NOT ATTEND BUT SENT DOLANC AS HIS PERSONAL EMMISSARY. ASSEMBLY PRESIDENT GLIGOROV, PRESIDENCY MEMBER ZARKOVIC, AND EXCOM MEMBER STAVREV, DEPUTY DEFENSE SECRETARY GEN. SUMONJA, AMONG LEADING PERSONALITIES ON HAND. ALSO PRESENT WERE REPRESENTATIVES FROM ALLIES WHO SENT MILITARY MISSIONS TO TITO'S WARTIME HQ'S ON VIS: V.S. GERASHENKO FROM SOVIET UNION, M.V. CALLANAN FROM US AND FITZROY MACLEAN FROM BRITAIN.

4. DOLANC BEGAN ADDRESS BY PLACING VIS IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE. HE NOTED SIGNIFICANT ROLE PARTISANS PLAYED AS "MASTERS OF THE MILITARY AND POLITICAL SITUATION IN YUGOSLAVIA" IN STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCIST FORCES OF GERMANY AND ITS ALLIES IN BULGARIA, RUMANIA AND HUNGARY. HE STATED THAT "SO CALLED AGREEMENT" BETWEEN TITO AND ROYAL REPRESENTATIVE, IVAN SUBASIC, WAS NOT UNDERSTANDING OR COMPROMISE WITH FORMER ROYAL GOVERNMENT; PARTISANS STOOD BY DECISIONS REACHED IN FIRST AND SECOND SESSIONS OF AVNOJ AT JAJCE. DOLANC ALSO PORTRAYED TITO AS IMPORTANT STATESMAN IN HIS MEETINGS WITH CHRUCHILL AND GENS WILSON AND ALEXANDER AND IN OTHER NEGOTIATIONS. HOWEVER, DOLANC PAID SPECIAL ATTENTION TO TITO'S VISIT TO MOSCOW IN SEPT 1944 TO DISCUSS COOPERATION

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BETWEEN PARTISANS AND RED ARMY, WHICH THEN ON YUGOSLAV BORDER. DOLANC STATED THAT "NATIONAL COMMITTEE AND COMRADE TITO APPROVED THAT THE RED ARMY CROSS OUR NORTHEASTERN BORDER "---TO CARRY OUT FINAL ATTACK ON REMAINING GERMAN FORCES.

5. EXPRESSING SATISFACTION THAT YUGOSLAVIA HAS THUS FAR SUCCESSFULLY PROTECTED ITSELF AGAINST ATTACKS OF REACTIONARY FORCES, DOLANC

LAUNCHED INTO DISCUSSION OF INTERNAL ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SITUATION

HE CALLED FOR PARTY UNITY AND STRESSED THAT ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SYSTEM IS STILL NOT FUNCTIONING SATISFACTORILY. DOLANC STATED THAT YUGOSLAVIA'S SELF-MANAGEMENT DEVELOPMENT, NONA-ALIGNED POLICY AND UNITY HAVE BEEN ATTACKED IN PAST BY LEFTIST AND RIGHTIST FORCES "WHICH MUTUALLY SUPPORTED EACH OTHER AND WHICH CONTINUE THEIR ACTIVITY EVEN TODAY." HE CONTINUED THAT THESE FORCES INCLUDE ELEMENTS ON POLITICAL SPECTRUM FROM ETATIST, BUREAUCRATIC, UNITARIST, RANKOVICIST TO NATIONALIST BOURGEOIS-LIBERALIST TECHNOCRATIC AND OTHERS. DOLANC STATED THAT DURING TIME OF ADOPTION OF CONSTITUTION AND PREPARATION OF TENTH PARTY CONGRESS, "ZFORCES WHICH WISHED TO PREVENT SUCH A DEVELOPMENT APPEARED AGAIN ON THE STAGE." THESE HE SAID WERE USTASHI, CHETNIKS, WHITEAGUARDIST, AND OTHERS INCLUDING "POLITICALLY DEAD COMINFORMIST ELEMENTS" TAKEN OUR OF MOTHS-BALLS." DOLANC CONTINUED THAT YUGOSLAVS MUST RELENTLESSLY FIGHT AGAINST SUCH FORCES, "FOR THERE CAN BE NO FREEDOM OR DEMOCRACY IN OUR SOCIETY FOR ENEMIES OF SOCIALISM AND SOCIALIST SELF-MANAGEMENT."

6. DOLANC DEVOTED MAJOR PART OF STATEMENTS ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO CYPRUS.

HE ACCUSED IMPERIALIST AND REACTIONARY FORCES OPPOSED TO PROCESS OF EMANCIPATION AND INDEPENDENCE OF DISRUPTING WORLD, ESPECIALLY CYPRUS. THEY SEEK TO SAFEGUARD OR STRENGTHEN THEIR POSITIONS, STOP PROGRESSIVE TREND AND ALTER BALANCE OF FORCES TO THEIR ADVANTAGE, HE CHARGED. DOLANC STATED THAT YUGOSLAVIA THROUGH MAINTAINANCE OF GOOD RELATIONS WITH GREECE, TURKEY AND CYPRUS HAS TRIED TO CONTRIBUTE TO JUST AND LASTING SOLUTION TO CRISIS. IN DOLANC'S WORDS, YUGOSLAV POSITIONS ON CYPRUS IS THAT LASTING SETTLEMENT OF CRISIS

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POSSIBLE ONLY BY RESTORATION OF AND RESPECT FOR INDEPENDENCE, SOVEREIGNTY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND NON-ALIGNMENT OF REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS, WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BELGRADE 4445

MILITARY FORCES AND ESTABLISHMENT OF RELATIONS ON BASIS OF FULL
EQUALITY BETWEEN GREEK AND TURKISH NATIONAL COMMUNITIES. SUCH
SETTLEMENT ONLY POSSIBLE WITH DIRECT AND FULL PARTICIPATION OF
CYPRIOTS. IN CONCLUDING DISCUSSION OF CYPRUS, DOLANC NOTED
VITAL INTEREST OF NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES IN ASSISTING IN
RESTORATION OF INDEPENDENT AND NON-ALIGNED CYPRUS AND
"INTERNATIONAL CONDITIONS ENABLE THEM TO DO SO."

7. DOLANC THEN TURNED TO MIDDLE EAST, WARNING OF AGGRESSIVE POLICIES
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OF ISRAEL AND COMPLICATION OF SITUATION "AS ARTIFICIAL
OBSTACLES ARE BEING PLACED IN THE WAY OF THE REALIZATION OF
THE LEGITIMATE NATIONAL RIGHTS OF THE ARAB PEOPLE OF PALESTINE,
WITHOUT WHICH THERE CAN BE NO STABLE, EQUITABLE AND COMPREHENSIVE
SETTLEMENT OF THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS." HE CONTINUED THAT

YUGOSLAVIA SUPPORTS PETITION OF ARABS TO TAKE UP PALESTINIAN QUESTION AT UNGA.

8. TOUCHING ON OTHER INTERNATIONAL ISSUES, DOLANC ALSO WELCOMED PORTUGUESE RECOGNITION OF INDEPENDENCE OF GUINEA-BISSAU AND LOOKED FORWARD TO FULL INDEPENDENCE OF OTHER PORTUGUESE COLONIES. HE CITED INCREASING GAP BETWEEN DEVELOPED AND UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES AND SLOW PACE AT WHICH SOLUTIONS TO INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC PROBLEMS BEING FOUND, CHARGING THAT IMPERIALIST AND NEO-COLONIALIST FORCES ARE TAKING ADVANTAGE OF DIFFICULT ECONOMIC SITUATION OF SOME NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES. IN THIS CONTEXT, DOLANC SINGLED OUT MULTINATIONAL COMPANIES WHICH "OVERTHROW PROGRESSIVE GOVERNMENTS AND SET UP REGIMES WHICH WILL SERVE THEIR INTERESTS," OFFERING CHILE AS EXTREME BUT NOT UNIQUE EXAMPLE. ON RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES, DOLANC STRESSED YUGOSLAV INTEREST IN GOOD RELATIONS AND PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE IT ATTACHES TO RIGHTS OF NATIONAL MINORITIES. TURNING TO ITALY, DOLANC STATED THAT IN ITALY AND "CERTAIN OTHER COUNTRIES" UNRESTRAINED FASCIST MOVEMENTS ARE PARTICULARLY DETRIMENTAL TO RELATIONS WITH YUGOSLAVIA IN THE DEMANDS THEY MAKE ON YUGOSLAV TERRITORY." HE RECALLED THAT SINCE EARLY DAYS OF SFRY IN TITO'S MEETING WITH CHURCHILL "THE YUGOSLAV POSITION REGARDING ITS WESTERN BORDERS WAS EXPLICITLY SET FORTH."

9. TONE AND CONTENT OF SPEECH ARE TOUGH. WITH SOVIET VISITOR IN AUDIENCE, DOLANC REHASHED OLD STORY OF TITO'S PRIOR APPROVAL FOR ENTRY RED ARMY INTO YUGOSLAVIA. HIS REFERENCES TO UNITARIST FACTION ARE FIRST SINCE MATTER WAS PRESUMABLY LAID TO REST LAST SPRING. MORE SIGNIFICANTLY HE SPOKE OF REVIVED COMINFORMISTS AT TIME WHEN RUMORS ARE CIRCULATING ABOUT ARRESTS OF PRO-SOVIET GROUP IN KOSOVO AND MONTENEGRO. DOLANC ALSO WARNED ABOUT CONSEQUENCES FOR OPPOSING PRESENT ORDER.

10. ON INTERNATIONAL SIDE, SPEECH MADE CLEAR THAT YUGOSLAV-ITALIAN DISPUTE OVER ZONE B IS NOT DEAD ISSUE. HE ALSO
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FORECAST THAT YUGOSLAVS AND NON-ALIGNED WILL BE ACTIVE THIS FALL IN UNGA ON SUCH ISSUES AS PALESTINIANS, MIDDLE EAST, CYPRUS, PORTUGUESE COLONIES, AND MULTINATIONAL COMPANIES.

11. AN OBVIOUS QUESTION, AND ONE ALREADY SUBJECT OF SPECULATION HERE, IS WHY TITO WAS NOT ON VIS FOR CELEBRATION. THERE APPEARS TO BE NO CAUSE TO THINK TITO WAS UNABLE TO MAKE SUCH A TRIP -- HE RECEIVED KARDELJ AT BRDO KOD KRANJA NEAR LJUBLJANA AUGUST 31 PRIOR TO LATTER'S DEPARTURE FOR MOSCOW, AND ACCORDING TO FRG EMBOFF IS SCHEDULED TODAY (SEPT 9) TO RECEIVE VISITING BUNDESTAG FOREIGN POLICY COMMITTEE DELEGATION HEADED BY GERHARD SCHROEDER. BOTH COMMITMENT AND FACT THAT ACCESS TO

VIS NOT EASY MAY ACCOUNT FOR TITO'S ABSENCE.

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